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THE AMERICAN

A NATIONAL JOURNAL

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CARDINAL TENETS OF THE PEOPLES PARTY.

Recognition of the Right of the People to Rule, *i. e.*, The Initiative and Referendum.
Creation and Maintenance of an Honest Measure of Values.
Government Ownership and Operation of Railroad, Telegraph and Telephone Lines.
Opposition to Trusts.
Opposition to Alien Ownership of Land and Court-made Law.

NOTES OF THE WEEK.

IT IS little more than a year since Canovas, Premier of Spain, was shot down and killed by an avowed anarchist. Now again is Europe shocked and startled by the assassination of Elizabeth, Empress of Austria, also the work of an avowed anarchist. And again do we hear of *pour parlers* for a systematic international ferreting out of anarchists, a hounding of all anarchist societies, a treating of all anarchists as criminals whether guilty of criminal act or not, simply assuming that the act of being an anarchist is a crime for which men should be deprived of their liberty.

Thus it is deemed crowned heads and rulers would be protected; thus as a fact would their lives be more endangered for any such treatment of anarchists would breed anarchists and simply drive the non-militant anarchists to violence. Attacks on crowned heads can be invited by acts of injustice, they cannot be prevented by injustice.

Those who advocate this wholesale persecution, condemnation of anarchists for the acts of one or two seem to labor under the impression that every anarchist is an assassin, that no one can be an anarchist and not an assassin at heart. No view could be more mistaken. The average anarchist is the dreamer of a perfect state where all men will live as brothers, where there will be no restraint of law, where there will be perfect individual liberty, where it will be the pleasure of all men to do that which will profit themselves and society, where happiness and bliss will reign. He believes that the way to attain this state is to do away with all government, that the restraints of government meant to make men respect the rights of their fellows, bring out that which is bad in man not that which is good, incite him to break those restraints and trespass on the rights of others, not live as becomes a Christian man. They say treat a man as a man and he will act as a man, and so the anarchist urges that governments and the restraints and the costs thereof be abolished, that men be individually charged with keeping order, that they be made to understand that they are responsible to themselves alone for their conduct, that they are free to live by the precepts of justice and honor and equity and prosper or not as they choose, that thus thrown upon their honor they will choose to live as good men should and traverse the paths of uprightness not of evil. This is what the ordinary, non-militant anarchist believes, he builds in his mind's eye a perfect state, he is a Utopian, he is not an assassin, a well wisher not a hater of his fellow-man.

TO TREAT all who hold to such belief as criminals would be a grievous blunder. The anarchist who believes in the tenets of his party as above set forth sees the injustice of man toward his fellow-man and he deems that government is the root of injustice, that the very laws meant to guard against the perpetration of injustice are the breeders of injustice, for, he says, man cannot be beaten into living a life of justice; he can be led by love and appeal to his manhood to lead such life and government and restraint of law squelch and stifle, do not bring out his finer qualities. And so the argument of the anarchist for the doing away with government, the argument that do away with government and there will be more justice, less despoilment of men by others than now, more justice less injustice.

Such is the theory of anarchism or no government. It rests on profound faith in the perfection of man. And this faith is misplaced, for men are not perfect, they are not above temptation, they are much given to despoiling their fellow-men when they have a chance. True, the anarchist answers that we do not know that men would not be perfect and superior to temptation if given conditions of perfect freedom in which to live, that government

and the restraints of government weaken men, weaken their sense of justice and equity and right. And true it is that we do not of a fact know but that men would be perfect if there were no restraints to their liberty of action established by government. But this we do know. We know that in directions where the government exercises no restraint the temptation of the rich to despoil the poor, the mighty to despoil the weak, is strong and yielded to; we know there is most grievous injustice perpetrated by man toward man just where the restraint of government is slightest or government exercises no restraint at all. Therefore it is that the ground premise of anarchism is faulty, and that premise being faulty the theory is wrong.

BUT because anarchism would lead to the trampling of the strong upon the weak, not to general happiness and bliss, is no reason to deny a hearing to the preceptors of anarchism. To do so would be an effectual means of causing anarchism to spread. Therefore, to make war upon all anarchists as if they were bands of criminals will be a terrible blunder for those who wish to crush out anarchism. To make such war would be but to further impress anarchists with the belief that all law is unjust, and as such should be abolished. What is more, such a war, impressing many anarchists with the utter hopelessness of advancing their views by peaceful means, must incline many to violence, not only for the promotion of a principle but for revenge. The way to kill off anarchism is to make of government the instrument of justice, to show that government serves not to despoil the people, but to protect them against despoilment. Keep government upon such field and anarchism will not grow for very want of food, of promising ground from which to gather recruits. Let there be rule of nations in the interest of the rulers and anarchism will prosper, let there be rule in the interest of the people and anarchism will languish.

WHILE it is a fact that when the well informed anarchist speaks of an anarchistic state he has in mind an ideal state in which all men will live as brothers, and that he does not believe that the securing of such an ideal state is to be advanced by the assassination of present-day rulers, it is also a fact that there is a certain coterie of anarchists of diseased brain who believe that the ends of anarchy can be promoted by assassination. And in common estimate all anarchists are associated with these and hence regarded as would-be assassins. Hence the desire to treat all anarchists as criminals, the mere fact of being an anarchist being held to be sufficiently condemnatory. But if governments fall into a mistake born of so regarding anarchists, consider all anarchists as alike and proceed to treat them as outcasts, the result will be the perpetration of injustice towards many such as will react to the injury of those responsible for injustice, to the injury of those seeking to crush anarchism.

It was by one of the aimless coterie of anarchists who seek to promote anarchism but hurt the cause they espouse by indiscriminate assassination that the Empress of Austria was assassinated in Geneva. There was absolutely no reason to pick her out for assassination save that she held by birth and marriage an exalted position. Though one of the crowned heads of Europe, she had no political power, no influence over European politics, no part in the ruling of the Austrian-Hungarian empire. She was no more than an ordinary, unrestful woman, with an empress's crown upon her head. And because of the wearing of that crown, and nothing else, she has been stricken down.

THE appointment of Senator Gray of Delaware as a Peace Commissioner in place of Justice White of Louisiana, whose acceptance was prematurely announced, does in no way change the complexion of the commission as announced when it was believed Justice White would be a member. Senator Gray holds just about the same views in opposition to the acquisition of the Phil-

ippines as does Justice White. Consequently the commission stands personally, two against acquisition, three for. As a body we suppose it stands by the President's instructions, which we believe are for the retention of the island of Luzon in the Philippine group but of nothing else.

And while Washington has been talking about Luzon, General Aguinaldo has managed to drive the Spaniards from their last point of vantage in the island, capturing their last garrison, so that now when we come to ask Spain to make cession of the island of Luzon, the Filipinos hold the island outside of Manila and are in position to have something to say of its disposition and future rule. If they demand their independence and we are disinclined to give it to them they can make us much trouble. Let us treat them fairly, give them a voice in deciding their destiny and make no occasion for their rising against us. We should not require them to defend their rights; we should voluntarily give them their rights.

GREAT energies are our army officers and officials of the War Department exerting in fighting each other. General Miles came home from Puerto Rico to affirm the correctness of the charges of incompetency and worse that he had made against Generals Alger and Corbin, especially the latter, whom he directly charged with editing telegrams in a way to make it appear to the American people that Miles did not supersede Shafter in command of the American army upon his arrival at Santiago and also with telegraphing Shafter in a way calculated to influence him to refuse to surrender the command to General Miles, which Miles was directed by the President to assume. Before General Miles returned we heard talk of court-martialing him, but a court-martial is something more to be feared by Generals Alger and Corbin than Miles, for it might disclose truths unpleasant to the two former gentlemen. And so no court-martial was ordered and General Miles takes his seat at his desk in the War Department just as if nothing had happened.

Meanwhile, the President has sought to put an end to all the criticism and demand for investigation by appointing or striving to appoint what looks very suspiciously like a whitewashing committee for the War Department, seeing that a retired general inimical to General Miles is called to sit over its deliberations, and Dr. Keen, of Philadelphia, a friend of Dr. Sternberger, the surgeon-general of the army, is selected as the medical member of the committee. Dr. Keen has defended in print the work of the surgeon-general that, if he becomes a member of the Investigating Committee and the committee over meets, he will be called upon to pass in review. He can only take up the work as a prejudged investigator. What is more, the proposed committee is an investigating committee without the power to investigate. And hence the disinclination of men of reputation to serve upon it, and the difficulty of the President in finding nine men to make up the committee. It would be just as well if he gave it up.

STRENUOUS effort is making to shift the blame of the shortcomings in our army camps. The defenders of Alger and of the administration put it off on the regimental officers. To the incompetency of these, they say, the unhygienic conditions of the camps, the want of care of the troops, the sickness, has been largely due, and for the appointment of these officers and their presence in the camps to the detriment of the soldiers they disclaim, on behalf of the War Department and President, all responsibility. They point out that these officers were appointed by the governors of the different states and in compliance with the political pull exerted on behalf of the applicants at the state capitals.

And it is undeniably true that regimental officers were so appointed, that many were entirely unfit for the places to which

they were chosen, that their selection is to be attributed to political pull. But this reference to political pull only serves to remind us of the appointments made from the White House for political reasons. Indeed, nearly all the appointments made from Washington were made in this way. So were there political appointments from the White House as from governors' mansions.

It does not, therefore, shift the blame for army shortcomings from the War Department to the regimental officers to have the political appointments made at the state capitals referred to. It merely points the finger of blame at the President who made just such appointments at Washington. The men thus appointed were the ones charged with furnishing the army with supplies. They were unfitted for their work, and as a consequence the army got supplies irregularly, the sick went without needed supplies, there was suffering, the country fumes and frets. And as a result, for this or some other reason, discontentment has grown in Republican ranks, finding an expression in the Maine elections of this week in a falling off of the Republican vote of four years ago of 25 per cent., while the Democratic vote had held well up. Of course, 1894, with which comparisons are made, was a great Republican year, but it was thought that 1898 would also be a great Republican year.

THAT which we foresaw when the war revenue bill was pending has come to pass. There has come a piling up of currency in the Treasury such as has so contracted our currency as to threaten grave consequences. The squeeze falling, however, upon the speculative rather than the producing interests, upon the New York banks rather than the country banks, Mr. Gage has come to the rescue as far as within his power. So long as the producing classes are squeezed by contraction and falling prices and the speculative cliques get off untouched, those of Mr. Gage's school seem to think it is a good thing and to be encouraged. It makes prices lower and salaries buy more. But when the speculative cliques are touched then it is time to give Government aid to stop the squeeze.

Since the passage of the war revenue bill more than \$100,000,000 has been taken out of circulation and piled up in the Treasury. That is, that much more money has been received by the government than has been spent and there are still large installments due on the bond issue. And of this \$100,000,000 half has been taken out of the New York banks. As a result their reserves have been cut down from \$243,000,000 on July 14th, the day when payments into the Treasury on account of the bond sale and the piling up process began, to about \$190,000,000 last Saturday. And their large surplus reserve, that is their cash holdings in excess of 25 per cent. of their deposits, has been cut down to almost nothing. Indeed, last Saturday's bank statement showed that the reserves of twenty-four of the banks associated in the New York Clearing House did not equal 25 per cent. of their deposits or were below the reserves they are required to keep under the provisions of the national bank act. Being below the limit, these banks are forbidden to make new loans or discounts, forbidden to do any new business while their reserves remain impaired. They are forbidden by the national bank act. Consequently, such banks are taken out of the market as sources of loans and an increased demand falls upon the other banks. But the surplus reserves of all the banks are low. Hence it is with increasing difficulty that loans on stock exchange securities are placed in New York. Indeed, many brokers called upon to pay loans and finding it impossible to replace such loans have been obliged to sell the securities. The result has been a heavy stock market, a shrinking of prices. And meanwhile interest rates have been marked up. Of course, the owners of stock exchange securities suffer loss. And it is piling up of money in the Treasury, consequent contraction and shrinkage of prices, that causes the loss. The speculative cliques are suffering loss at

the hands of the Treasury and suffering loss from the bond issue they insisted should be made. And greater loss threatens them.

BUT the Treasury comes to their rescue. Secretary Gage orders the payment of the interest due on the public debt October 1st and amounting to \$5,000,000 in anticipation and he orders the Treasury to redeem at once, at a rebate of $\frac{1}{2}$ of 1 per cent., the \$14,000,000 of currency sixes issued in aid of the construction of the Pacific railroads and falling due January 1st. Thus Mr. Gage seeks to pay out \$19,000,000 in a way greatly to the profit of the bondholders. By forgoing what amounts to about $1\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. interest on their bonds from to-day up to January 1st the holders of the currency sixes can get their bonds paid at once and have the proceeds to loan in a market where money is worth on time paper three times the interest they remit to the government to get their bonds redeemed at once. In other words, the government is virtually offering to the holders of these bonds if they will accept $4\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. interest on their bonds between now and January 1st instead of 6 per cent. to give them the opportunity to loan the face value of the bonds between now and January 1st at 5 per cent. and so earn $9\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. instead of 6. Thus in effect the government is offering a bounty to those holders of currency sixes who will present them for redemption at once.

True, the bounty costs the government nothing, for the government has the money piled up in the Treasury to pay these bonds and if not used to redeem them in advance will remain piled up in idleness, and it is to the advantage of the government, having the money, to redeem the bonds in advance, and thus secure a rebate of $\frac{1}{2}$ of 1 per cent. on each bond, which, as we have said, is equal to about $1\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. interest between this time and the maturity of the bonds. Yet, be it remembered that the government is still issuing the bonds of the 3-per-cent. war loan of \$200,000,000 that is piling up money in the Treasury. In other words, the Treasury, at practically one and the same time, is issuing bonds at 3 per cent. and paying off bonds in advance of maturity to save $1\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. And this is the result of what people call the brilliant war financing of Mr. Gage; the result of his mistake in pooch-pooching the use of the \$100,000,000 of temporary currency certificates authorized by law and by the use of which he could have avoided the issue of any interest-bearing bonds; the result of his mistake in raising more money than needed. It is indeed a record of brilliant war financing—for the bondholder.

IT WAS expected that the rise in interest rates in New York, occasioned by the payments of money into the treasury and the drawing down of the surplus reserves of the banks to the vanishing point, would be followed by large gold imports. It has been asserted again and again, with every show of positiveness, that the merchandise trade of the last year left a large current balance in our favor in London, that the New York banks had made very considerable purchases of sterling paper, that is, had discounted large sums of paper payable in London; that they had loaned out very considerable sums in London, where more remunerative rates for money could be had than here, and that the moment interest rates in New York rose above interest rates in London and money could be more profitably used in New York than in London that the banks would import large sums of gold. But all this has come to pass; indeed, the banks have been reduced to a pass where they have much need of gold to restore their reserves, and no gold have they imported. Evidently the sums they were said to have loaned out in London on call were a myth. To get gold they must buy it. They have no credits upon which to draw. Indeed, it is beginning to be questioned

on the stock exchanges if there is any considerable balance to the credit of this country abroad. We have always doubted the reports of such balance, believing that the trade balance of such unparalleled proportions that was built up last year in our favor and that was not used to meet interest charges, etc., due by us on our foreign debt, or to meet freight charges or travellers' expenses, was settled for by the return to us of our securities, by the sale of American securities in American markets for foreign account.

SPEAKING of this the New York *Herald* remarks that "our enormous excess of merchandise exports during the last year has created a general impression that there exists abroad an enormous balance to the credit of this country which can be drawn at any time. Therefore, early last week, when sight sterling declined half a cent and purchases of gold were reported in London for New York account, it was thought an important influx of the precious metals was beginning. In the latter days of the week, however, the rates recovered a small fraction . . . and it is evident that it will take something more attractive than 4 per cent. to stimulate a flow of gold to our shores. If anyone is willing to pay the price, of course it can be brought. . . . As to the credit balance due us on last year's business, there is no way of telling to what extent it has been affected by the sale of securities here for foreign account, and it may well prove to be very much less than a mere exulting glance at the merchandise statistics has led us to believe."

We may as well give up the thought of getting any more gold on account of last year's trade. And this year's trade is not paralleling last's by far. We are building up no such favorable balances as we did a year ago. First, our exports of grain are smaller in bulk and at a lesser price bushel for bushel. Second, our imports last year at this period were very small, for the reason that there had just been large anticipatory imports in expectation of the passage of the Dingley bill. Consequently, the favorable balances building in our favor are much smaller than a year ago. And so it is not likely to be so easy to import gold as a year ago, especially as England is likely to throw every possible obstacle in the way. Gold is now selling in England at a premium of one fifth of 1 per cent.

MR. H. M. McDONALD, who was very active in bimetallic circles in New York in the campaign of 1896, is marshalling the Bryan Democrats of the State. As Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Chicago Platform Democrats of New York, presumably a self-appointed committee, he boldly announces that the Democratic State Convention shall give "a sweeping and unqualified endorsement of the Chicago platform," or there shall be two Democratic tickets in the field. "If the platform is not endorsed," he continues, "or a State ticket is nominated, any portion of which is unsatisfactory to us, then we shall go on and nominate our own candidates. We shall insist upon both a full and unqualified endorsement of the Chicago platform, and the nomination of a full set of candidates that will meet with our approbation. If we fail in securing both of these objects there will be two Democratic tickets in the field." We are inclined to think there will be the occasion for two tickets. We fancy that the Silver Democratic ticket will not cut much of a figure.

Down in Maryland the Bryan Democrats are much in the position of their fellows in New York. Convinced that it is the intention of the regular Democrats to put up gold men in Maryland, and to ignore the Chicago platform, they have called a convention to meet in Baltimore, September 21, to organize a Silver Democratic party.

GOVERNMENT is a fossil; it should be a plant.—Emerson.

THREE GREAT QUESTIONS SOLVED AS ONE.

CITY aldermen and councilmen, state legislators and Congressmen, tax the people; the money is spent wastefully, profligately, for the enrichment of the creatures of the political machines, and the people are robbed. But this robbery, great as it is, is small compared to the robbery of the people by corporations to which municipal and state legislators are induced to vote special privileges, special grants, and confer valuable rights, to the prejudice of the many denied the right to the enjoyment, the use of such rights, save upon payment of such tribute as the corporations may choose to exact. And again: this robbery of the people by the corporations is as far exceeded by the robbery of the people by the speculative cliques, as does the robbery by the corporations exceed the robbery by the political machines. Thus the speculative cliques, and largely through the instrumentality of the corporation, and especially of the railroad, rob the people not only of their earnings but of their savings, and what is the greatest robbery of all, the chance to earn a living, for the man robbed of this right becomes a slave. And this the speculative cliques do; they carry out the most stupendous of robberies, and this robbery is tolerated by our legislators, for in our legislative halls the speculative cliques exert the terrible and far-reaching influence of corruption, an influence that can only be rendered nugatory by the knowledge that a people is watchful of their representatives, ready to reward work well done but swift to scourge the representative faithless to his trust. And this check our people are not exerting. They slumber while they are robbed.

And on top of this robbery there is a loss to our people greater than all the robbery. It is the loss of labor, of production power coming from the paralysis of industry, of enterprise caused by the robbery of the people by the speculative cliques. The robbery of one dollar may often lead to a stoppage of industry that will cause the loss of ten. And loss of this kind is the most grievous under which our people now suffer. We repeat the robbery by the political machines great in itself, not infrequently exposed, readily seen and much spoken of is small in comparison to the robbery of the people by the corporations, corporations granted valuable franchises by the people and which charge the people for the use of their own franchises, and this robbery by corporations is small besides the robbery by the speculative cliques who wreck the enterprises of the people, wreck corporations, railroads as it serves them, yet this great robbery that has built up the majority of the colossal fortunes of to-day is as nothing to the loss that it has occasioned our people.

In brief, our people have lost from the robbery much more than has been robbed from them. Their greatest loss is from the fact that the robbery has greatly handicapped their ability to produce wealth. Because of the robbery much of their ability to create wealth they have been unable to exert. In short, the people have lost much more than their despoilers have gained, because much wealth that would have been produced if it had not been for the discouragement placed upon industry by the systematic despoilment of the wealth producers by the speculative cliques has not been produced at all. Indeed despoilment of the wealth producers has not only placed discouragement upon industry, it has, where the wealth producer has been stripped of his savings, his capital, put an absolute check upon production. We venture the assertion that if it were not for the stupendous and systematic despoilment of the many by the few that discourages industry by destroying the profits thereof and stops enterprise by the transfer of capital from productive to non-productive channels, from channels where its use results in the production of more wealth to channels where its use results in its destruction, that the production of wealth in this country to-day would be twice that which it is.

Nor let anyone fancy that such vast increase in production would be disastrous, that it would lead to overproduction. The power of a people to consume is only limited by its power to produce and that which is dubbed overproduction, the piling up of unmarketable goods, results not from overproduction but from unwise and unjust laws that enable the few to garner the increased fruits of the toil of the many thereby leaving the few enriched, the many impoverished and so preventing the equitable distribution of the increased wealth produced.

All this robbery and stoppage of wealth production may be charged to the corruption of our legislators and political machines, of the political machines who tax uncalled for sums from the people that fat contracts for the creation of public works or the execution of public services may be given to their creatures and thus rob the people; to the legislators who assist corporations to rob the people by voting them franchises, to the legislators who do not prevent the speculative cliques from preying upon the multitude. But a cause even behind the corruption of our legislators and party machines is the lethargy of our people. Therefore the first step to the release from the evils that beset us is an awakening of our people from their indifference to the robbery that circumvents them, for this is the step that must lead to the stopping of the robbery.

We have spoken of the three great ways in which the people are despoiled and to what degree the political machines are responsible for each. And we have seen that the way in which the political machines profit most directly is the way in which the least despoilment of the people is effected. We have seen that the way of despoilment in which the political machines aid but do not themselves do the despoiling, the way of despoilment through the instrumentality of the corporation empowered with the power to tax the people for the use of their own franchises and so despoil is much more effective. We have seen that the greatest despoilment is effected through the instrumentality of the speculative cliques who use political machine, corporation, railroad as their tools and tools that they do not hesitate to sacrifice if the occasion demands.

It is chiefly through the instrumentality of our banks that give them a certain control over the value of money and enable them to command general fluctuation of prices, and through the instrumentality of our railroads by which they confer prosperity and adversity when and where they see fit, building up enterprises and destroying enterprises, causing one locality to flourish and another to languish, one to be thrilled with activity, one to be chilled with stagnation, that the speculative cliques operate. If we would then take away their power to despoil we should loosen their grasp upon the instruments through which they act, we should establish a monetary system and a transportation system that they cannot monopolize, cannot grasp to the exclusion of all others, systems that will serve not alone the speculative cliques but equally all the people.

And first as to the monetary system. We have now a monetary system built around the gold dollar. By narrowing our system down from the gold and silver to the gold basis we made the dollar dearer, we made property cheaper, we made debts more burdensome by twice, we enriched the creditor at the expense of the debtor. This system we adopted to the great profit of the speculative cliques, the great injury of our producers of wealth. Not only did it have the effect of transferring property from the hands of wealth producers to creditors but, cheapening the products of labor, undermining the profits of industry, it caused money to centralize in the financial centers, caused money to be centralized where the speculative cliques could control it and use it for their purposes, use it to raise prices by making money easy and plenty when the cliques want to sell, use it to depress prices by pulling tight the purse strings when it was the will of the speculators to put the screws upon investors and squeeze from them their savings.

But our monetary system being tied down to gold and gold having been steadily appreciating for a quarter of a century, it is obvious that the general course of our dollar has been toward a dearer level and of property toward a lower. And this has gone on until property of many kinds is hardly salable. And into the possession of much of this property our speculative cliques have come. For this property they want a market that they may dispose of it at a profit and with money growing dearer this they cannot find. So the speculative cliques are dissatisfied with our monetary system. They want the retirement of our greenbacks and the substitution of bank notes, so that we might have a currency over which they would have full control, and of the value of which, in the event of the suspension of gold payments which they expect would follow, indeed would see would follow, they would become the sole regulators. Then they could put prices up and down at will and readily take for their own profit the fruits of the industry of others. Now their control of bank credits only gives them power to cause temporary fluctuations in prices, the value of gold giving the general direction to the fluctuations which for a quarter of a century have been, as we have said, very markedly downward.

By expanding bank credits our speculative cliques have indeed often been able to arbitrarily raise prices but the sure result has been to cause a drain for gold for export, a demand for the redemption of bank credits and an automatic check to the expansion. And so on the other hand severe contraction on the part of the speculative cliques leads to gold importations. So the desire of the speculative cliques to free themselves of dependence on gold that they may have full power to regulate the volume of currency, its value and so prices.

We now have a monetary thermometer in which the value of gold, of money, has not kept the same height in the tube but has gone on, with slight fluctuations, to crawl higher and higher for a generation. And so have debt-burdened producers sweat more and more. And now the speculative cliques, feeling the need of lifting the value of property as well as of depressing demand that a bank currency thermometer on which they may blow hot and cold by turns shall be substituted for our gold thermometer. The question is shall we go backward or forward, shall we establish a monetary system less honest than gold, more injurious to the producing classes, more to the profit of the speculative cliques bent on despoiling the wealth producers, or shall we establish a system more honest, that will do justice by the producing classes, by all classes, and stop the robbery of some men by others through the instrumentality of our monetary system?

This is the question. It has but one honest answer, but there is only one party honest enough and free enough from the influences of the speculative cliques to give it, the Peoples party. Abandon not the dishonest for something more so but abandon the dishonest for the honest. That is the answer we make. The speculative cliques want a currency that by expansion and contraction they can make cheap and dear and prices low and high by turns. The people want a currency that will expand with their needs, which will grow neither cheap nor dear but maintain a stable value thereby securing the equities of debtors and creditors and placing business upon firm foundations, free from the ups and downs in prices over which men not in the cliques have no control and against which no business foresight can guard yet which may strip them in almost the twinkling of an eye of the profits of a year, of the savings of a lifetime, throw them from hope into despondency, cut off the promise of success, open the way to bankruptcy.

This currency that will maintain a stable value it is the duty of the government to give. It is its duty to regulate the issue of money in a way to accomplish this. The amount of money needed to accomplish this, the times when more money must be issued to preserve the stability, the times when smaller issues are

required can readily be ascertained. We have in the general level of prices our guide, our currency thermometer. The mercury in that thermometer, the general index number, should always register the same. So long as it registers the same it means that prices are stable, that the purchasing power of money is unchanged, the equities between debtors and creditors undisturbed. If it falls it means that prices are lower, money dearer, the debtor being despoiled for the creditor's benefit. It means that justice requires the issue of more money. If on the other hand the index number in this currency thermometer rises it means that prices are rising, that money has departed from the level of honesty with the result of benefiting the debtor at the creditor's expense and that in the name of honesty, in the interest of industry and business the volume of money should be contracted. In an advancing state it would be seldom if ever that the currency thermometer would point to the need of currency contraction.

By watching this currency thermometer as our guide we can establish a perfect monetary system, a system that will give us currency of practicably invariable purchasing power and hence honest money, a money the volume and hence the value of which would not be subject to accidents of production as is our gold money to-day or as would be a bimetallic currency which, being less likely to be violently effected by changes in production is preferable to gold; a money not subject to the whim of banker as the speculative cliques desire or of legislator as the unfriendly critics of Populism assert, but a money established upon rigid lines of honesty.

This is the basic principle of sound and honest money, the monetary principal of Populism. The machinery for regulating the issue of currency upon this principle may be of different kinds. Different mechanisms may be devised by different men all arriving at the same end, some more cumbersome than others, some one preferable to all the rest. What one that one may be only broad discussion can bring out. So let no man present any special mechanism in any doctrinaire spirit, for while there is only one rule, one law of honest money, there may be many mechanisms for giving effect to that rule, that law. We give one for which we have a preference, for it would kill three birds with one stone, solve three great questions, the financial question, the transportation question, the labor question, by the application of one remedy.

The presentation of this remedy requires us to go back a step. We have remarked how the speculative cliques rob the people through the instrumentality of our railroads. By the control of the railroads and arbitrarily fixing transportation charges at lower rates for some men than for others they can make it profitable for the favored to market goods at prices at which the unfavored cannot compete with success. So we have the enterprises of some men, of course those paying tribute to the speculative cliques, prospering while like enterprises of other men refusing to pay tribute or unable to get favors even upon payment of tribute languish. And what is true of men is true of localities.

That the speculative cliques can profit greatly by such manipulation through the railroads is obvious. That the government should protect the people against such manipulation cannot be successfully denied. And to protect the people the government must take the railroads out of the hands of the speculative cliques. It must own them. But how is it going to get possession? Doubtless the present owners would be glad to sell upon a basis of their present fictitious capital. But the government's business is not to encourage over-capitalization and stock watering and to pay for watered stocks and bonds would be to give this encouragement. Indeed there is just one price that the government can pay for the roads and that is their actual value, their value as measured by what it will cost to reproduce them. This price it is probable the railroad managers would refuse and raise

no end of legal obstacles if the government undertook to take them on such terms.

What then can the government do? Simply take the roads regardless of cries of confiscation and what not. But there is a better way, a way to accomplish the end without complications. That is for the government, arriving at the cost of building and equipping a road between say Chicago and New York, to announce its purpose to own and operate a road, and to build a road of its own, if it could not get one of the old roads for the cost of producing the new. Not getting a railroad already built the government would proceed to build and pay for the road by the issue of greenbacks, greenbacks that would be not promises to pay money, but promises to receive as money in payment of taxes to the government when they might be reissued or in payment of freight bills, etc., of the new railroad when so many might be retired as were not needed to pay operating expenses. In other words the profits of the road should be applied to paying its cost. When paid for the road should be operated on a basis of charges fixed to cover expenditures.

Of course the road could be operated so as to turn large revenue into the Treasury, and so reduce general taxation. But this is a dangerous principle of taxation, for when taxes are thus collected in such indirect manner, the people do not recognize them, do not see them though they do feel them and hence are less prone to carefully watch over expenditures. Hence such taxes are the dream of politicians but the danger of the people. Always let the people appreciate what they are paying as taxes. It is the safe ground for the people, the most economical ground and hence the best ground.

One railroad thus built and the old railroads competing with it unable to earn more than a moderate interest on their actual value, they would doubtless be ready to sell to the government on the government's terms; that is, fair terms. And the other railroads over the country would come to feel the same way, and in short order the government would come into complete possession of our railroad system.

But with the cheapening and equalizing of rates that would follow traffic would, doubtless, so increase that there would be requirement for double tracking many of the present lines and for building new. So there would be much government work to do and pay for. And now let us look at another duty of the government, its duty to supply enough currency to restore the index number in its currency thermometer to a height that would be fair, bearing in mind the equities of debtors and creditors in the past, and having restored it to keep it there. So let the government in order to undertake the work in hand offer employment to all men at wages approximately ruling when the general level of prices was at the point fixed upon as fair to accept as the index number upon which to start and build a scientifically sound and honest currency. Doubtless many would accept the government's terms, work upon the public works would be very brisk and the issue of greenbacks in payment for their services very rapid. As such notes were issued prices would naturally rise, industry would become more profitable, enterprise would be stimulated, an increased demand for labor arise, and as all the idle labor caring for work had already sought work on the government works wages would in general doubtless rise, and as they rose men would leave the government's employ to seek better places elsewhere and as a consequence the issue of greenbacks would go on with diminishing rapidity. Thus would inflation in the issue of greenbacks be guarded against and their stability of value roughly assured.

To assure an absolute stability it would then be necessary to have recurrence to the currency thermometer. If the thermometer showed that the index number was below the established mark, below the mark of justice, it would show that not enough money was in circulation to secure the desired end. Then the government would raise wages, this would attract more men to

the government works, more money would be issued in their payment, prices would be raised and this would go on until the index number was restored at the mark of honesty. If the index number rose above the established mark then the government would have to pursue the opposite course in order to secure stability. As the currency thus issued would be constantly retired out of profits of the government roads there would be constant opportunity for the continuance of this system of creating public works and paying for them without the issue of interest bearing bonds.

Thus would the currency be kept stable, an honest measure of values secured and maintained; thus would the government get control of the railroads upon its own terms and be in position to put an end to the discrimination that destroys equality of opportunity and builds up trusts and monopolies; thus would work be given to the idle and the loss of wealth through the non-use of productive forces, through the lack of opportunity to work become a thing of the past. And thus would be solved as one the financial question, the transportation question, the labor question. Then, in the words of the Cincinnati platform, would we "possess, free of tribute to bankers, a governmental full legal measure of value made of paper, that will expand side by side with the growth of wealth and population," then the railroads would not be "permitted to say how much they shall take from the producers and how much they will leave them," which "is taxation without representation in its worst form," "then, and only then, will the people realize the full benefits of civilization and the world be made a garden of delights for mankind."

AND now though we have done just one more blow to drive the point home. Writing in similar vein of thought to that which we have penned, Hon. W. S. Morgan has this to say in his weekly news-letter: "The position which the Populists take on the money question will also help solve the railroad problem. With plenty of money and good prices for products the people could pay the present rates of traffic much more easily than now. But a more important feature is that it furnishes the means of paying the money out direct to the people, just as it was paid out to the people during the Civil War in this country. This would be done in the construction of railroads. . . . The government can as well issue money to build railroads as it can to buy arms and ammunition to enable man to shoot and kill his brother man, which it did do in the Civil War between the North and the South. In the construction of such railroads another question would be solved, it would give employment to every idle man in the country."

THE POSITION OF THE BRYAN DEMOCRACY.

IN THE train of political events it has become needful, if we would avoid confusion, to have a care to use the word Democrat only with the sobriquet of gold or Bryan prefixed to the name. The division between the gold and Bryan Democracy has not healed over but grown broader until what was once the old Democratic party stands arrayed in two hostile camps and it does no longer to speak of the Democratic party for there are two. And so if we would speak intelligently we must constantly distinguish between the two wings of the party, between the gold and Bryan Democracy. It is true the Bryan Democracy, bearing the stamp of regularity given by the last Democratic National convention, impatiently regards any hesitation to recognize it as the Democratic party or hint that in order to clearly distinguish it and prevent it from being confused with the other wing of the party it is necessary to speak of it as the silver or Bryan Democracy. Yet it is none the less a fact that such distinguishing prefix is as necessary as it was just before the

Chicago convention, it is necessary to-day even though it was not necessary during the campaign of 1896 and a little while after. Then it was commonly understood that the word Democrat unless prefixed by the word gold meant a silver or Bryan Democrat. But it is so no longer and hence the bitter protest of the Bryan Democrats against the sobriquet of silver Democrats.

The plain truth is that the gold Democrats are gaining ground. Their wing of the party is gaining in power and promising to make a struggle for supremacy in 1900 that will be no child's play for the other wing that not long since felt its hold upon the party organization to be firm and impregnable. But that hold has been broken, it has been shaken until the gold Democracy unmistakably holds the party organization in many states. And in such states the Democratic party will be, is a gold party while in others a silver party. The silver Democrats are so cognizant of this and of their inability to take the party organization of several states out of the hands of the gold wing that they are organizing to bolt the regular organization and build up anew, build up silver Democratic parties where the regular Democratic organization is in the grasp of the gold Democracy. This do we already see in New York and Maryland and Wisconsin. So the necessity of the constant use of the distinguishing prefix of gold or Bryan to the word Democrat. By itself the word is quite indefinite.

In 1896 when the Democratic convention declared for silver the gold men in the party were numerous. Some swallowed or strove to change their convictions and accepted the course of the Chicago convention on the old party principle that the judgment of the party on any public question is superior to and more likely to be right than that of any individual. But a great number of these gold men and those whom they influenced, an indefinite but extremely large body left the party and for the most part entered the Republican ranks to vote for Mr. McKinley. They are now back in the gold wing of the Democratic party calling themselves Democrats, and in many states with the party organization firmly in their grasp.

When this great host of voters left the Democratic ranks in 1896 a staggering void would have been left if it had not been for the accession of Populist and silver Republican voters. Of the two million Populist voters in 1894 and '95 the great part entered the Democratic ranks. Nearly all the Populists of the Northwestern and Western states did so, and a large percentage of the Populists in the Southern states, states where they had been abused and villified by the Democracy, states where the crimes of the Democracy were the cause of the organization of the People's party, joined hands to vote once again, in national affairs, with their avowed and unchivalrous enemies. And with these Populists there entered the Democratic ranks perhaps a million of voters who had been life long Republicans, entered the Democratic ranks not because the Democratic party stood for what they stood for, not because they were welcomed and received with open arms, but because they could not abide longer with the Republican party sold out to the moneyed oligarchy and because in the Democratic party they saw a refuge not inviting, not tempting but which they hoped would prove more worthy of their support than the Republican party. They made the refuge and disappointment has been the lot of many. So it was that the Democrats polled the largest vote in 1896 that they ever did and in spite of the great breaking up of their own forces.

But the forces that gave Mr. Bryan six and a half million of votes have not held together. Many of the silver Republicans disgusted with the refuge they found in the Democratic party, disgusted in the failure of that party, the silver part of it, the so-called reform part, to offer remedies for crying abuses, to take sides with the masses of the people and against the money and railroad cliques, have drawn out of the Democratic ranks. And a great part of the Populists who entered the Democratic ranks

in 1896 have for similar reasons, and bitterly regretting the fusion policy which wrecked their own party for the profit of the Democracy, withdrawn. One of the consequences has been the comparative strengthening of the gold wing of the Democratic party.

Hence it is that great efforts are making by the Bryan Democracy to gain back Populists to the policy of fusion, a policy of self obliteration for Democratic gain. Unless the Bryan Democracy can succeed in this, succeed in destroying Populism and aggrandizing itself upon the wreck it cannot hope to cut a respectable figure in 1900, and it will shrink into the position of a party in a hopeless minority, a position precedent to shrinking out of existence altogether. So the firm Bryan Democrats have grown more and more ardent as advocates of fusion.

But it is a fact that many of the Bryan Democrats of 1896 who were Bryan Democrats because they deemed it expedient to be and not from any convictions upon the silver question are not advocating the policy of fusion with the Populists to-day. Indeed they are opposing it, administering rebuffs to the Populist leaders who come with the offer of votes and the request for office. The votes are acceptable enough, the request annoying. These Democrats are in politics for the spoils. Naturally they want to be on the side that promises to be on top in their party. So they were on the side of the Bryan Democracy in 1896, so do they weaken in this support with the obvious strengthening of the gold wing of the Democratic party.

Besides, being in politics for the spoils they have a greediness for spoils and an inbred disinclination to sharing those spoils, to giving some of those spoils to Populists for their votes. They only agree to do so where they cannot get any spoils without the help of Populist votes. And as the rank and file of the Populists have shown resentment at the policy of some of their leaders in trading off their votes, abandoning their party, casting aside their principles and building up the Democratic party the number of Populist votes to be traded off has grown less. Populists have refused to be traded and so the trading capital of their fusion leaders has diminished. Consequently the desirability of fusion has, in the eyes of these Democrats, grown less, and in many places the leaders looking upon the growth of the gold wing of the party begin to think that more is to be gained by inviting gold Democrats than Populists to partake of their feast. And so they act, and show a disposition to act accordingly. So have they recently acted in Wisconsin.

Thus we see Senator Butler offering to fuse with the Democrats in North Carolina and the Democrats, believing they can get the spoils of office without Populist votes, slapping him in the face; thus we see Robert Schilling, of Wisconsin, offering to fuse with the Democrats of Wisconsin and the Democrats, believing more can be gained by catering to the gold Democrats than the Populists with their fusion thinned ranks, rejecting fusion.

Yet rebuffed by the Democrats of his own state who think only of state spoils, spurred on by Senator Jones, of Arkansas, and the other national leaders of the Bryan Democracy who see their only hope is in gathering the voters of the Peoples party, Senator Butler still pleads for fusion with the Democratic party, the fusion that means the wrecking of Populism, the wrecking of the party and its tenets and the upbuilding of the so-called purified Democracy upon its ruins. And this Bryan Democracy is what? We are told that it stands for the cardinal tenets of Populism; that having declared for increased issues of greenbacks during the last session of Congress as well as for free silver coinage it stands at one with the Peoples party on the financial question; that it has tacitly abandoned the usual Democratic advocacy, as the justest of taxes, of coffee and tea and sugar duties and other virtually per capita taxes which would exempt the wealthier from making greater contribution to the support of the government than the poorer citizens and now proposes the

income tax, a tax that would lay the burdens of government upon all men in proportion to their means, as the most equitable of taxes. So we are told that the Bryan Democracy is at one with the Peoples party in opposition to trusts and court made law; that it differs from the Peoples party in opposition to unjust railroad discrimination only as to the remedy to be applied, that it approves of the introduction of the system of direct legislation, known as the initiative and referendum even as the Peoples party does, that, in fine, the Peoples party has no longer reason to exist.

So are we told by those leaders of the Bryan Democracy who continue to make great efforts for fusion, knowing that if the Peoples party grow the Bryan wing of the Democratic party must shrink away. And in substantiation of what they say they point to the course pursued by the silver Democrats during the last session of Congress. That they should point to such course with other feeling than that of humiliation shows how far these leaders of the Bryan Democracy stand from Populists, how ignorant they are of the demands of the Peoples party or how gullible they believe Populists to be to sugared words and soft promises. Still let us look at this record that we may see the position of the Bryan Democrats. The war revenue bill being before the Senate the question of greenbacks or bonds was fairly presented. Nearly one-third of the Democrats present voted for bonds not for greenbacks. Still these were not the firm Bryan Democrats who voted almost solidly for greenbacks and whose course is now pointed to. But these Bryan Democrats who voted for greenbacks voted for what? Not for paper money, but for promises to pay money, for notes redeemable in coin. By their very votes they declared the greenbacks they proposed to issue were not money but merely promises to pay.

Thus to put the most favorable face on the attitude of the Democratic leaders on the money question it is clear that if given power they would tie us down to paper money redeemable in coin, and so tie down the volume of money to the volume of gold and silver coin, thus leaving the value of money subject to the accidents affecting the supply of gold and silver. In short it would be to leave the value of our money to be regulated by accident and no assurance would be given that we would not be subjected to the evils of a fluctuating currency, defrauding creditors at one time and robbing debtors at another to the detriment of honest industry. And this is not the Populists' idea of honest money.

Yet this is the best monetary system that can be hoped for at Democratic and silver Democratic hands; it is not the worst to be expected. That worst is an irredeemable bank currency which would surely be the end of putting in force the State Bank policy of the Democratic party. We want to banish bank currency; we do not want to issue more; we want to do away with the evil of and to withdraw the National Bank currency, and to invite and encourage the substitution of State Bank paper would be but to accentuate the evil.

Between an irredeemable national currency such as Populists demand and an irredeemable bank currency there is just this difference. The volume of an irredeemable national currency such as Populists propose would be rigidly regulated by the government, taking the general level of prices for its guide, its currency thermometer, so as to give a stability and permanence to the purchasing power of money; the volume and hence the value of irredeemable bank currency would be regulated by the speculative cliques controlling the banks, by parties profiting from fluctuations in prices, indeed, living by taking advantage of such fluctuations and, of course, having an interest in so regulating the volume of money, arbitrarily expanding it at one time and contracting it at another, as to upset prices and cause violent fluctuations. Thus an irredeemable national currency issued under the safeguards that Populists propose would give to our people an honest dollar. An irredeemable bank currency would be prone

to give us a grossly dishonest money and subject producers to all the evils crowding in its train. It is, then, for dishonest money that Democrats stand; honest money that Populists stand. That is how much they are in accord on the financial question.

And then we come to the professions of the Democrats on the question of taxation. We find their professions belied by their acts. We find them decrying about the injustice of taxation so imposed as to rest more heavily on the earnings of the poor than the rich. Yet during the war tax debate in Congress the lines were drawn in the Senate on a most inequitable tax, the tea tax which practically takes from the man earning \$500 a year as much for the support of the Government as from the man with an income of a million dollars, and where did the Democrats in the Senate line up? Almost to a man in favor of such tax. Aye, the tax itself was proposed and moved by a Democrat, Senator Tillman.

So do we come to the assertion that the Democrats are at one with the Peoples Party in opposition to trusts. But in what? The Populists recognizing that railroad discrimination has in large measure built up such trusts propose the true remedy, the Government ownership of the railroads to the end that they be made common carriers managed in the interests of the whole people and cease to be preferential carriers managed to the end of despoiling the many and enriching the few. The Democrats oppose such remedy on the ground that it would be paternalism. That is how far the Democrats go with Populists in opposition to trusts. Populists make honest opposition, Democrats seek to serve the trusts and protect them by making a sham opposition and diverting the people from the pursuit of the true to the pursuit of a false remedy.

Such is the position of the Democracy and of the Bryan Democracy as shown by their acts, for the worst of financial systems, an irredeemable bank currency, for taxes that bear more heavily upon the poor than the rich, for continuance of the railroad system that builds up trusts, in a word, for the money system desired of all others by the growing oligarchy of wealth, for the tax system that favors such oligarchy at the expense of the people, for the transportation system that is the mother of trusts and monopolies, for the industrial system that is the child of the moneyed oligarchy. That is the position of the Democracy, of the silver-purified, Bryan Democracy, and yet men claiming to be Populists, claiming to have the interests of the people at heart, urge Populists to fuse, to co-operate, to join hands with such a party. Such, Senator Butler, speaking to Populists in Greenville, Texas, admitted the so-called purified Democracy to be; with such, speaking in Denver, Colorado, one week later, he urged Populists to co-operate. But surely he who urges Populists to fuse with such a party can command but a meager following.

THE "POPS" ON THE RIGHT TRACK.

THE Philadelphia *Record*, good gold Democratic paper and old party hack has this comment to make on the platform of the Peoples Party which we interlineate with some pertinent remarks of our own:

"The first declaration of the new Populist platform declares:

"Prosperity is the first right of a people.

"From this premise it is argued that the Government should make everybody prosperous, and, in its effort 'to promote the general welfare,' provide for the especial and particular welfare of every mother's son.

"Now, in fact, the basic principle of our Government is that every mother's son shall look out for himself. [Yes, and

that every mother's son shall be given an equal opportunity to look out for himself.] That was the primary idea when Adam was thrust out of Eden. Every man should dig. [And every man be given the opportunity to dig.] Digging will bring prosperity. [If the digger be not despoiled of the fruits of his labor.] No digging, no prosperity. [It ought to be so, Populists demand that it shall be so, but universally so it is not for many are the despoilers who prosper though they do not dig.] The theory set up in this free country is that the State shall prevent men as far as possible from interference with each other's inherent rights and let every man work out his own prosperity with his own brain and brawn. [This is the theory but it is not lived up to. The State should prevent men from interference with the inherent rights of others, one of which is the right to an equality of opportunity. But this the State does not. It permits the railroads to place impossible handicaps upon some men, permits the railroads to deny to many of its citizens their inherent rights, permits them to destroy equality of opportunity, build up the enterprises of those men who will pay the railroad managers tribute, destroy the enterprises of others. This the State permits, to say nothing of having created a monetary system that has destroyed the equities between debtors and creditors and enabled a few men to take from the many a share of their produce larger than they believed they were binding themselves to pay when they gave their bonds for money borrowed, enabled the fortunate few to exact greater value from their debtors than they even loaned to their debtors, and thus has the State interfered with the right of men to the enjoyment of the fruits of their toil, interfered as it has in levying taxes in a way to weigh most heavily upon its poorer citizens. But this interlineation is so long that the train of argument in the *Record* editorial is certainly broken. And so, reader, let the eye travel back, pick up the thoughts put down in the verbiage of the *Record* scribe, skip this interlineation and read the pointed conclusion of this positive anti-Populist argument, an argument reared upon false assumptions, conclusive to those content to be blind, shallow to those who would see.]

"Let the Government stand off and attend to its own business within the limits set for it. 'The Pops' are on the wrong track."

So says the *Record*. We say: Let the Government stand in, attend to its business, and prevent any one man or clique of men, any corporation or trust or railroad from depriving any of its citizens of their inherent right to an equality of opportunity. And whatever Government must do to prevent interference with the rights of its citizens; interference with their right to an equality of opportunity; interference with their right to dig and to toil and to prosper, that it is its business to do. Whatever the Government must do to accomplish this is within its proper sphere. This is what Populists demand. To establish a true democracy, a Government of liberty, equality, fraternity—the Pops are on the right track.

FRANCIS SCOTT KEY, author of the *Star Spangled Banner*, has been statued, to coin the phrase, in his native town, Frederick, Md. That piece of verse deserves to be, as it virtually has become, the recognized anthem of the nation. It has true feeling, dignity, beauty and fitness. Its melody is less happy, though dignified enough until it reaches the last line, which tapers off into commonplace, almost melancholy. The *Literary World* says of it, What a pity it is that the music of *The Star Spangled Banner* cannot be marched to except by a company of cripples halting on one leg." The criticism is not good. The critic may possess the "musical ear" we hear so much about, but if he had the full complement of two ears he would find it a very excellent march, whether he steps it with one cork leg, a pair of wooden stumps or his natural pins. But why must a national anthem be a "march." The tune of "America" is not.

PLATFORM OF THE PEOPLES PARTY

Adopted by the Cincinnati Convention September 6, 1898.

As a fundamental step to the preservation of our endangered liberties we demand that the reign of corruption shall cease in our legislative halls, by the establishment of direct legislation. We must shorten the plow handles of government, by bringing the legislator closer to his principals—so close that no lobbyist can intrude between them. Through the initiative and referendum all moral and political questions can be submitted to a fair and impartial vote of the people, and if adopted by a majority of the voters become the law of the land.

While we demand that if either gold or silver is to be used as money both shall be so used, we insist that the best currency this country ever possessed was the full legal tender greenback of the civil war. And we look forward with hope to the day when gold shall be relegated to the arts of the country and the human family possess, free of tribute to bankers, a governmental full legal measure of value, made of paper, that will expand side by side with the growth of wealth and population. Then, and only then, will the people realize the full benefits of civilization and the world be made a garden of delights for mankind.

We call attention to the public school system and the postal service as exemplifications of a beneficent state socialism, which our people would only relinquish with their lives. And we demand that the carrying of messages written with pen and ink be amplified to embrace messages written by electricity, and that the train of cars which carries our letters be owned by the government to carry those who wrote the letters. No other reforms will avail much if corporations are permitted to say how much they shall take from the producers and how much they will leave them. This is taxation without representation in its worst form. It is the disgrace of our republic that foreign despots have defended the right of the people in these particulars, while corruption has made self-government a helpless failure in this land. We believe in the collective ownership of those means of production and distribution which the people may elect, such as railways, telegraphs, telephones, coal mines, etc.

We are opposed to individuals or corporations fastening themselves, like vampires, on the people, and sucking their substance; and we demand that whatever can be better done by government for the enrichment of the many shall not be turned over to individuals for the aggrandizement of the few.

Hence, we insist that banks have no more right to create our money than they would have to organize our army or pass our laws.

We reaffirm the fundamental principles of the Omaha platform and declare it to be the immutable creed of our party, coeval with it in birth and filled with the spirit that launched it on its grand career. It must not be whittled away or traded off for offices. The man who proposed to do this is an enemy of mankind; he would sell the kingdom of Heaven for a mess of pottage.

In order to maintain the liberties of the people we must preserve their homes, and we therefore demand laws in the several states exempting the homes of the people from taxation absolutely in a sum not less than \$2,000, and a personal property exemption of not less than \$300 to each head of a family. To make up for this reduction of taxation we favor an income, inheritance and other like taxes.

"With malice towards none, with charity to all, with devotion to the right as God gives us to see the right," we commit our cause to the hearts and consciences of the American People.

PEOPLES PARTY NOTES.

JO. A. PARKER, of Kentucky, was one of those attending the Cincinnati Convention who opposed the making of nominations and followed Mr. Palmer out of the convention when the convention refused to go their way and resolved to make nominations. This is Mr. Parker's comment, in the *Free Republic*, on the work of the Cincinnati Convention.

The Cincinnati Convention has met, deliberated and departed. I have not now time nor space to carefully analyze its actions. The convention divided on the advisability of nominating candidates for President and Vice-President, outside the regular party organization and by an utterly unrepresentative body.

I will discuss this later on; but here I will simply sum up what was done.

Hon. Wharton Barker was nominated for President and Ignatius Donnelly for Vice President.

Though nominated by a small faction of the party, there has never been named a ticket, by any party in America, as representative of brains and intellect as this one.

The platform adopted, and which received the unanimous sanction of the convention, before the division occurred, is a grand document, principally the production of the genius of the gifted Donnelly, and is a step in advance of any Peoples party national platform yet written.

Had this ticket and platform been the result of the deliberations of a regular and representative convention it would be irresistible.

The circumstances and conditions which surround this movement are unfortunate; but we who now deplore may yet find it a rock of safety.

Without criticism, without comment, I desire to say I do not much regret this nomination. Truly, it puts these brilliant men and their followers outside the Peoples party; gives to Butler and fusion more leverage and a better chance to overthrow the straight Populists in 1900, but it gives middle-of-the roaders a protection that they need.

I venture this prediction:

If we mid-roaders who decided to stand by the regular party are defeated in 1900, and our party is carried for fusion, there will be a bolt that will make the Cincinnati affair too small to remember. The straight Populists of Kentucky will stand with Texas and Georgia and other States, and never accept another fusion ticket.

In that event, we will have in the field a Populist ticket which we can support without hesitancy, and with all our energy.

On the other hand, if we carry the National Convention a truce will be patched up and differences adjusted, for Mr. Barker or Mr. Donnelly would never allow personal ambition to keep us apart.

Taken all in all, I am not ready to sit down in sackcloth and ashes and weep over the result at Cincinnati.

It ensures, beyond peradventure, a straight Populist ticket in 1900, and, with this assurance, what is there to prevent the Old Guard from burnishing anew its weapons of conflict and entering with redoubled zeal into the battle for human rights?

AFTER a three days' struggle the Democratic, Silver Republican and Peoples Party State conventions that met concurrently in Ellensburg on the 6th to 8th days of September, put forth a fusion ticket. The fusion ticket goes under the name of Peoples Party ticket, but the Populists have only one place upon it; one of two nominees for Supreme Judge. The Silver Republicans got one of the Congressmen, or the chance to name one of the candidates for Congress on the fusion ticket, and named the present incumbent, Mr. Jones; the Democrats got the other Congressman and Supreme Judge. They renominated for Congress James Hamilton Lewis, who has already cut a considerable swathe in Congress.

Tours to the Upper South.

TWO PERSONALLY-CONDUCTED TOURS VIA PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD TO GETTYSBURG, LURAY, NATURAL BRIDGE, RICHMOND, WASHINGTON, &c.

September 28 and October 19 are the dates selected by the Pennsylvania Railroad Company for its two early Autumn tours to the Battlefield of Gettysburg, picturesque Blue Mountain, Luray Caverns, the Natural Bridge, Virginia Hot Springs, the cities of Richmond and Washington and Mt. Vernon.

The round-trip rate, including all necessary expenses, is \$65 from New York, \$63 from Philadelphia and proportionate rates from other points.

Each tour covers a period of eleven days, and will be in charge of one of the company's Tourist Agents. He will be assisted by an experienced lady as Chaperone, whose especial charge will be ladies unaccompanied by male escort.

Special trains of parlor cars are provided for the exclusive use of each party, in which the entire round trip from New York is made.

For detailed itinerary apply to Ticket Agents or to Tourist Agent, 1196 Broadway, New York, 789 Broad Street, Newark, N. J., or address George W. Boyd, Assistant General Passenger Agent, Broad Street Station, Philadelphia. —*Adv.*

If thou art a master, be sometimes blind; if a servant, sometimes deaf. —*Fuller.*

BOOK REVIEWS.

The Need for a National Song Book.

Patriotic and Naval Songster. Philadelphia: CHARLES H. WALSH. 25 cents.

Any collection of genuine national songs has an importance greater than is indicated by its size and price.

This little book with its odd name invites more serious attention than the average song-book, and does so more by its omissions than by the fitness of its contents to promote its aim. The compiler rightly holds that "nothing so thoroughly implants in the breasts of the young a love for and devotion to the flag, and the country it symbolizes, as the songs, however rude, recounting the brave deeds of the heroes who laid and built upon the foundations of our national glory." This was more true of our fathers than it is now. The gift of making patriotic songs that rang in the heart and set the people singing in sheer enthusiasm is a lost art. A hundred explanations can be suggested, but they do not explain away the unpleasant fact. The experience of this summer, a costly one to the ambition of our versifiers and the bank books of publishers, has demonstrated that patriotic songs neither sell nor get sung. Tennyson's attempts in the same line were flat failures, though the first composers and singers of the day co-operated to make them popular. Poets of renown tried their hands, as did the great unknown, to create just one singable lyric on the jubilees of Queen Victoria, only to be coldly told by the trade that patriotic pieces are not wanted by the people. Our own story has the same moral. We have been thrilled for several months with the emotions which in old times used to find their natural and loftiest expression in the natural poetry of song and melody, which, when genuine, rise superior to the tape measure of art. In the old times there would have been by now a nosegay of heart-songs which the people would cherish with pride.

In these humdrum days we are content with the rhapsodies of sensational reports and high-strung editorials, which—happily—soon perish and are forgotten. Compilers of books such as this are to be praised for reminding a prosy generation of what it loses by this substitution. They are to be pitied for the hard and stony ground their good seed falls on; and yet, what can they expect? The sentiment we quote from the preface, much like that in a similar book recently reviewed, is excellent; but how lamentably the contents fail to live up to it. Putting it as a round guess there are, apparently, some 250 songs here "patriotic and naval," of which about 240 date anterior to the Civil War. Perhaps a hundred of these are old English, racy of the British seas and quite useless for us, except in the literary way. It is very nice to bid our boys and girls open their mouths for a feast of patriotic good things and then fill them with old bones. Small wonder if they get a distaste for any kind of verse which bears the "patriotic" label for selling purposes. The few songs born in the sixties which flourish still got their vital spark from other sources than the arts. They "grewed," like Topsy, and with two or three exceptions make no pretense to polish. Once in a way some vagrant ditty nowadays "catches on," by virtue of hitting the sentiment of the hour or having a lilting air; and their success is the despair of cultured poets and composers. The solitary song in this book on the most stirring episode of our war with Spain is an atrociously bad, vulgar, and senseless guffaw entitled "Did Dewey Do It?" Query: Is this the right sort of thing to "inspire the breasts of the young" with "patriotism?"

If patriotism is a virtue it must thrive on pride, proper pride, which comes of independent spirit and honor. It will demand that its song-literature, its soundest stimulating food for the growing patriot, shall be its very own. In infancy a nation can feed on pap without shame. When adolescent, neither pap nor dry old bones can nourish it. The British Navy had its folk-songs, if we may say so, strange, incoherent jingles, fitted with unearthly croonings for tunes, and many a rattling victory on the high seas owes more of its glory to these very inspirations than has been confessed, but it did not come at its true manly diet until Dibdin gave it those perfect sailor songs with perfect singing tunes which have never since been approached by any imitators. Here they are in this book, thirty or forty of the most famous: "Tom Bowling;" "The Lass That Loves a Sailor;" "Blow High, Blow Low;" also, Allan Cunningham's "A Wet Sheet and a Flowing Sea," Gay's "Black-eyed Susan," Andrew Cherry's "Bay of Biscay, O," and suchlike standard masterpieces. These are neither patriotic nor naval songs, but just glorious

songs of the sea, its joys and perils, and as such would be of little but literary interest but for the fine tunes that belong to them. Of the numerous British naval songs the same might be said as concerning American readers, the music is the main feature. So far as these English songs have a rightful place in an American patriotic collection they have it only in virtue of old associations and artistic merits. It is different when we find so many of these pieces borrowed, altered, tortured, to make believe they are original American productions. The rising generation, if we mistake not, is not of the same temper to make-shift with imported substitutes for home-grown patriotic verse. In the infancy of the Republic this was not only pardonable but inevitable. A British colony could not well escape at a single jump from this thralldom. Its songs and music came from over sea, and mothers hummed the ditties they had learned in their cradles to their own little ones, born to new conditions, but equipped with so much of the old training. Surely the time has come to think of rescuing American song-literature from the reproach of lagging so far and so long behind the times.

Of these parodies, appropriations, mutilations, or whatever they are, of purely English national songs, some are bare-faced frauds, some harmless imitations, but all more or less objectionable as not being genuine American outbursts of patriotism. The first six are our own proud national anthems, "Hail, Columbia," "Star-Spangled Banner," "America" (the tune borrowed), "God Save the Flag," "Battle Hymn of the Republic," and "The Nation's Heritage." The seventh starts the false note we venture to deprecate. It is an imitation of the noblest of the English national songs, "Rule, Britannia," written as a lyric in the masque of *Alfred*, by James Thomson, poet of "The Seasons." Not so much, perhaps, the rather bombastic strain, but the grand melody and the rolling chorus have made this the peculiar property of John Bull, never so cocksure of his immaculate omniscience as when he is roaring that "Britannia rules the waves," and Britons never, never, never shall be slaves." In this Americanized version, done in 1817, the refrain runs,

Rule, Columbia, Columbia ever free,
Heaven-born child of liberty.

Two criticisms must have occurred to not a few singers of this chorus when it was new; the musical could not but feel guilty of torture in having to stretch that poor chi-i-i-ild into five agonizing notes to fill the tune, and those with the prophetic gift would be troubled to reconcile the assertion of the chorus with the abolition of slavery, deferred for nearly half a century. Historically viewed, this class of song is undoubtedly of high interest; but it can scarcely be offered as suited for present singing, and, consequently, is not likely to do much to promote the compiler's practical aim. Again, nearly all the songs here given apply to the antiquated sailing ship, the only make-of ship, sad to think, that lends itself to poetry and song. And it is worth while for compilers to ponder whether the revival of our revolutionary sea songs, instinct with hostility to the British, is likely to promote the "era of good feeling" between the two nations, of which all the birds, big and little, are singing just now. A single illustration may be given, which was used in noticing an earlier work. The supposedly American popular song, "Columbia, the Gem of the Ocean," on p. 73, is credited to David T. Shaw, but it is not explained that it was written in 1854, and at once became the popular war-song during the Crimean fight. The first line is, "Britannia, pride of the ocean," and the remainder of the verse is unchanged in the American version. In the second verse "Britannia" is again changed into "Columbia," and in the third the line, "May the wreath Nelson won never wither," becomes "May the memory of Washington ne'er wither." If some American poet of distinction cannot be induced to do as Dr. Smith did in the case of "America"—furnish original lines for the adopted tune—it would be better if compilers would "inspire the breasts of the young" with a frank statement of the song's origin, in the interests of the patriotism of independence. On page 198 we have the song, "'Tis the Deed of the Brave," written by Mr. Charles Sprague, sung at the public dinner given to Com. Perry in Boston, May 11, 1814. Tune, "Anacreon in Heaven." The compiler is evidently unaware that this is the melody of "The Star Spangled Banner," which appears on p. 6, without any mention of its tune. The author of "The Flag of the Constellation," Thos. Buchanan Read, did not spell his name as here given—Reid. The song, "Behold How Brightly Beams the Morning," is from the opera "Masaniello," here spelt with two s's. The hero's name

is Tomasa Niello. The author of "The Bonny Boat" is given as Joanna Bailey, when it should be Baillie. In the Dewey song Manila is given with two l's. The ideal American patriotic song book, wisely selected and candidly edited, has yet to be produced. It need not be bulky, it should not be a second-hand affair, and the making of it is worthy the genius of the most gifted man in the land.

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An English Diagnosis of the Chinese Question.

China in Transformation. By ARCHIBALD R. COLQUHOUN. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Public interest in the fate of China has vastly deepened since the occupation of Manila bay by an American fleet, and at the present time, with Russia, Britain, Germany, Belgium and France striving to circumvent each other and obtain the lion's share of the Chinese trade—commonly looked upon as the great commercial bonanza of the future—and each endeavoring to obtain the largest possible foothold in Chinese waters and territory, it is interesting to learn how Mr. Colquhoun views the situation, present and future. We will presently give him the floor, but before doing so we are impelled to say, from personal knowledge of Chinese, China and the conditions that subsist there, that we cannot subscribe to all his conclusions nor concur in his diagnosis of the case. We do not look for any great market in China for foreign goods, and are convinced that the future will show the Chinese no more dependent on foreign supplies than they are to-day. When the awakening occurs, China will be developed by Chinese (aided in the beginning by foreigners) for the benefit of China, not by foreigners whose one purpose is to exploit China for their profit and her impoverishment. With this preface we are glad to present a few leading facts and figures gathered by Mr. Colquhoun for the purposes of his book, which will well repay a careful reading.

Its population is between three hundred and fifty and four hundred millions, distributed irregularly over its area of 1,500,000 square miles, so that some provinces average two hundred and seventy people to the square mile, as in Massachusetts, and others only fifty, as in some of our Western States. While the Christian faith is losing its always weak hold, the followers of Mahomet increase, there being between twenty-five and thirty millions, in spite of persistent attempts to exterminate them by massacre. These Moslem Chinese are intellectually and commercially a strong body and will have a marked influence on the future of the nation. The Chinaman of whatever faith is a born man of business. He shares at least equally the trading and money-making instinct of the Jew. They are an industrious race, from the unskilled laborer up to the blood-sucking mandarin. As usual, the working folk of the northern provinces are harder and more intelligent than those of the south. The lower grade live on rice and vegetables mainly. Field labor has a poor wage, that of the general run of artisans, carpenters, builders, and such like, mounting as high as twenty cents a day, with a probable average of half that. Their working day is nine hours.

The author describes three climatic zones; the country north of the Yellow River produces millet and barley, not being mild enough for rice and tea. From this river south to the twenty-sixth degree of latitude, rice and wheat flourish in the gentler climate. This central zone also produces the better kinds of tea, besides cotton, silk, oranges, sugar, and the bamboo. The western section produces timber, and the middle district is capable of feeding the entire population of China on its rice. The hotter southern zone yields much the same run of products, but of inferior quality. It is stated that in the Shansi region alone there is enough good coal for thousands of years to come, at the present rate of consumption by the whole world. China has great mineral wealth scattered over the whole land, and virtually hardly developed. Tea is still the leading export, though Indian growths are lessening it every year. The natives in the north and west are small tea drinkers; most of them take simply hot water, or infusions in which tea is a scantily used element. The finest kinds are bought by Russia, and by the Chinese aristocracy, who pay fancy prices and outbid the English.

The fierce competition between Russia and England for Chinese trade, if not territory, is going to revolutionize the governmental system of the country, and ultimately the social system. Russia, says the author, goes for land conquest, England for sea trade. Russia's commerce is up to now insignificant. Germany, Japan and the United States have gained a footing each, which ensures great developments in the near future. If Russian trade has not been very extensive, there are elements at work which vouch for its securing a stronger hold than that at present pos-

sessed by England. The Russian understands, or inherits, Oriental methods. He goes slow, but penetrates deep.

Caravans from Moscow and Tobolsk actually find their way by the long, overland route to the City of Lanchau, and it is surely a significant fact that Russia is already able to compete against England in that region. Every one who has seen anything of Western China is struck by the lack of British commercial enterprise there, as in other parts of the interior of China; but in the northwest the traders of Russian Central Asia are gradually pushing their way and establishing a firmer hold upon the markets. The British trader works on a totally different system. He settles at the treaty port, declines to learn the 'beastly language,' and is content to intrust his goods to Chinese agencies for disposal inland. Thus illegal taxes are exacted during inland transit, which tend to destroy British trade.

The outlook for China, as we have said, demands a separate consideration. The author seeks to rouse his English countrymen to take quick and drastic action against Russia, and he does this by picturing a Russo-Chinese combination, terrorizing the civilized world. "With China Russian (he shows how this is no idle scarecrow) Asia would soon be the Czar's and the whole world would in due course of time be subjected by Russia." He speaks as a Briton to Britons, the little island in front of his eye blinding him for the moment to the hemisphere in the offing.

ABOUT BOOKS AND WRITERS.

A very gratuitous and mean offence has been perpetrated by the London *Athenæum*. Every one knows how the young traveler, Henry Savage Landor, managed to explore the sacred city of Thibet, at the cost of terrible and permanent sufferings inflicted upon him by the incensed natives. His book, soon to be published by Harpers, is eagerly looked for as the most unique travel-story of recent years. By what evil motive the *Athenæum* was prompted to add its peculiar torture on the author it is not easy to guess. It charges him with the shocking crime of having gone to Thibet to make a book about it! And this is an era of sham authorship, when books are made by hired advertisers, key-hole busybodies, and backyard "travellers." Mr. Landor stoops to tell the *Athenæum* that "such is not the case, but having taken, chiefly for scientific research, a long journey of unusual interest in Thibet, and having met with experiences not perhaps quite usual in everyday life, I felt entitled on returning to Europe to record them in book form. . . . Considering that for the sake of science I nearly lost my life and have had my health and eyesight seriously impaired, such remarks seem all the more unfair and ungenerous."

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Mr. Zangwill is the guest, during his six months' visit, of Judge Mayer Sulzberger, of Philadelphia, whose literary attainments equal his judicial reputation. In his fine library his talented co-religionist dwells in Paradise. The author of "The Children of the Ghetto" is quite young, not yet thirty-three, born in London, educated in the Jews' Free School, where he won every prize he went for. He did the same in his London University career. He was a humble teacher in a Board School when his book lifted him into public notice. His lecture and literary work here will be worthy of close attention outside the Jewish community.

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The Macmillan Company publish this week the "Memoir of Bismarck; Some Secret Pages of His History," being a diary kept by Dr. Moritz Busch during twenty-five years' official and private intercourse with the great Chancellor. These secret pages of the German Prince's life were written by Dr. Busch during twenty-five years' intimate relations with him. They throw much light, it is said, on many vexed questions in European politics.

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Emile Zola is expected to deliver a course of lectures on various subjects in this country as soon as his imprisonment expires. Paul Meyer, of Meyer Bros. & Co., has gone to Europe as agent for a syndicate who made the proposal which Zola is said to have accepted. Mr. Meyer is empowered to deposit \$15,000 to secure the contract. Octave Mirbeau has paid Zola's fine and the costs of the trial to prevent distraint.

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The *State*, a weekly political and literary journal published at Tacoma, conciliates woodcut and letterpress opposition by

keeping to an uncalendered paper and tacking its half-tone proofs on the spaces allotted to them.

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Drexel Biddle, of Philadelphia, announces the early issue of "The Land of the Long Night," by Paul du Chaillu. Also, "The Laurel Walk," a novel by Mrs. Mary Louisa Molesworth; "Paving the Way," a stirring romance of Australian life, by S. Newland, with a preface by A. J. Drexel Biddle, and to contain twenty-five full-page engravings by Herbert Cole, the well-known English artist; "Giles Ingilby," a new novel, by W. E. Norris, and an illustrated work by E. F. Benson, author of "Dodo," entitled "The Money Market."

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Hall Caine has arrived to see that the Salvation Army heroine of his novel, "The Christian," shall paint her face and dress up showily to make her part a pecuniary theatrical success. "The Christian" character turned into a stage puppet, a pious ideal tricked up to draw dollars as an amusement, sacred principles and noble enthusiasms degraded into materials for a horseless circus show. And the man who sticks at nothing in his miserable lust for pseudo-literary glory feels no qualm in descending into the sawdust to boom his own performance. There were able men in England before Caine, notably one, whose face and mien he, in his consummate littleness, tries to ape and chatters about his pose as Shakespeare's double. The real men of English literature have needed none of these clap trap dodges to catch the public ear. If they had, they would rather have shrunk back into respectable oblivion than have resorted to the pillmonger's devices to gain an undeserved pedestal for self-display. But as there always have been literary quacks, we know of no law to prevent any book or playmaker stepping down into whatever humble class he thinks most suitable for his art and ends.

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So in the republic of journalism, a paper of rank is free to drop to the level of any *Waybackville Tatler* and give free "reading notices," i. e. disguised puffs, to the profit and glory of anybody who can reciprocate in a business way. Now and then papers of dignity and power condescend to print the portraits of foreigners with notoriety of any kind, and actually offend their readers with the views of these persons, pigmies in their own lands, as if they were accredited ambassadors with a special mission. The line dividing honorable journalism from ignominious log-rolling is growing thinner every year.

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It matters nothing that Carlyle gave the palm to Shakespeare as a greater intellect than Jesus, on the ground that Jesus, with all his grandeur, "hadn't Falstaff in Him." It matters a good deal that the London *Saturday Review*, and the American papers that toady by copying its stuff, should print such drivel. This alleged talk of Carlyle dates thirty years back; the old man was probably playing his young interviewer for a fool, and in any case was not cautioned that whatever he might say in the course of a wild-goose chat would be printed against him twenty years after his death. Prisoners charged with crimes are given this chance to guard their speech, but any honest man may be entrapped into off-hand absurdities by crafty traders in other men's brains, without a chance to defend his reputation for reverence or sanity.

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The vagarious ways of magazine editors are still past all understanding, to judge by a little tale in *The Writer*. Its correspondent says he submitted a travel article to the *Century* editor three years ago, who reluctantly declined it because it was written in "newspaper style" rather than in "magazine mold." Another magazine editor liked it, and asked the author to cut it down from 7,500 words to 4,000. It was reduced to 6,000, was kept by the editor for six months, and was then declined. The author then took it to a third magazine, demanding a decision within twenty-four hours. It was accepted, printed, and \$186 was paid for it. The author asks for information as to what the difference is between newspaper and magazine styles. It is a magazine style when a manuscript is accepted and paid for, and newspaper style when *ditto*, and neither's style when rejected. Beyond this all is mystery.

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The 2,500 papers in the United States served by the Associated Press have 25,000,000 readers daily. The service gives

them 50,000 words of telegraph news each day, or 18,250,000 words in the course of a year. To supply this news cost, last year, \$1,520,545.

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On the opportunity for a literary critic of high and authoritative rank, Mr. Henry James writes as follows in *Literature*: "I can speak but for myself, but nothing, in the United States, appeals so to the attention at any moment as the symptom, in any quarter of the world of letters, of the possible growth of a real influence in criticism. The opportunity for a critic of authority in the field I speak of strikes me as, at the present hour, on the whole, so much one of the most dazzling in the world that there is no precaution in favor of his advent that is not positively criminal to neglect. The signs of his presence are as yet so incommensurate with the need of him that the spectacle is, among the peoples, almost a thing by itself. And let no one, looking at our literature with an interrogative eye, say that his work is not cut out for him; if it be a question of subject he has surely the largest he need desire. Such a public is in itself a subject—the greatest mass of consumers, I conjecture, that, since the beginning of time, have been left, in their consumption, so gregariously, as it were, alone."

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The trade fail to see that cheaper books would mean larger sales. Magazines are gradually lessening book sales. Many publishers think they have educated numbers into bookbuying. As a rule, those who buy books to read and prize prefer good ones to the cheap and nasty. This, we hold, ought to be so, and the fewer sold of the latter, the better for literature and the spread of culture. On the other hand, persons of unsettled abode find it not only a waste of money but a nuisance to accumulate good, that is, costly books. They are expensive lumber to carry around, hence their willingness to have the lightest, flimsiest and poorest new editions, and the raggedest second-hand volumes, which need no care.

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By the same reasoning some of us rigidly abstain from buying current monthlies. Of all cumbersome, costly lumber they are the worst. For many years we have found it profitable and ten times more interesting and novel to buy them when a few years old, for a few cents each on the stalls, rip them to pieces, and stow away the articles on subjects that specially interest us, which soon make themselves into peculiarly valuable books. But each to his taste and the new to him who thinks the old is necessarily stale.

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In England as well as here the book trade is half paralyzed by the war. We cannot but think the publishers will pay for their timidity a larger price in the long run than they reckon on. While a war is raging the newspaper largely supplants the entertaining book, but nothing sickens us more thoroughly than monotonous war tales, true or false, and sooner than many publishers seem to expect there will set in a revulsion of taste. Then the public will loathe the sight of all these books in war paint, and lucky will be the writers and sellers who sing the glories of peace.

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Mrs. Julia Ward Howe promises her reminiscences in the *Atlantic Monthly*. She is one of the very few persons now living whose personal recollections are likely to enrich our literature and charm all classes of readers.

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"New poetry," says Andrew Lang, "seems to be in high esteem at this moment, and Mr. Stephen Phillips is to be congratulated on a sudden leap into the position of the latest discovered minstrel. I have not enjoyed the opportunity of seeing his new book, but would venture to play the part of the slave at the Roman triumph. Many new poets have I seen crowned in the city, but their laurels are already sere, while probably fresh journalistic bays are even now being twined for some yet more recent 'supreme head of song,' as Amurath to Amurath succeeds. Mr. Phillips cannot reckon on three years' reign, unless somebody discovers—1, that he is a plagiarist (say, from Sir Lewis Morris); 2, that he is improper; 3, that he is unintelligible. Mr. Swinburne was called improper (not absolutely without a shadow of plausibility); Mr. Rossetti was called improper; Longfellow was called a plagiarist (by Poe); Tennyson and Browning were unintelligible. The showers of stones ought, by all precedent, to arrive before the crowns of laurels."

George Meredith may not be easy to read, but he says many things worth puzzling over. A letter from him to a Harvard student ten years ago contains these passages:

"When at the conclusion of your article on my works you say that a certain change in public taste, should it come about, will be to some extent due to me, you hand me the flowering wreath I covet. . . . Again, when you tell me that Harvard has the works, and that young Harvard reads them, the news is of a kind to prompt me to fresh productiveness and higher. In England I am encouraged but by a few enthusiasts. I read in the *Critical Review* of some verse of mine the other day that I was 'a harlequin and performer of antics.' I am accustomed to the kind of writing, as our hustings orator is to the dead cat and brickbat flung in his face—at which he smiles politely; and I too; but after many years of it, my mind looks elsewhere."

Meredith lives out of the world or he would have known that the hustings were abolished in 1868.

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The manuscript of an article by R. L. Stevenson on books which had influenced him is offered for sale in London for \$200. The article was originally printed in *The British Weekly* and the editor of that paper presented the manuscript to an admirer of Stevenson. It is to be admitted that many an "admirer" knows how to turn nimble pennies out of autographs acquired from trustful authors. Not all the writing gentry are as canny as is Mr. Kipling, who recently received a polite note gravely inquiring whether his remarkable story "The Man Who Would Be King" was founded on fact. Kipling returned a sheet of paper with a London club heading, bearing in the centre, neatly pasted, three words, "It is not," these words being clipped from his correspondent's own note.

WOMAN'S WORK.

DON'T crowd! There's room enough for all?
Why push and jostle so?
Why shove your neighbor to the wall,
Or seek to him lay low!
Don't crowd!

Don't crowd! You're just an atom here!
Why hold your brother back?
Go seek a way that's new and clear—
Why keep the beaten track?
Don't crowd!

Don't crowd! Once you strove bravely, too,
Against the odds above!
Think how defeat oft reached you through
Some rival's stealthy shove—
Don't crowd!

Don't crowd! Ah, might I just as well
Address the drops that make the sea!
Wherever men or mice may dwell
There will the jealous ever be
To crowd!

.

If the time has come when women must compete with men in the struggle for existence, if the time has unfortunately come when they must subordinate the calling of maternity to that of bread winning, so has the time come when they must be prepared for heartless crowding, must be prepared by education to enter the contest as well prepared as their masculine competitors, for the stress of competition for this world's goods, competition under the spur of corporate greed, gives no room for a cosmopolitan and chivalrous sympathy. The saying of St. Paul that "unless a man work, neither shall he eat," is even truer for the toiling millions of to-day than when it was spoken, and since then the conditions have widened to include women also.

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There are many wives and daughters and mothers, women of more or less refinement and education, who would willingly add something to the slender income. There are many left penniless by the death or misfortune of those who are supposed to be their natural protectors, and they are thrown upon their own resources with absolutely no preparation for any sort of real occupation. And to these women society says, "They shall make bricks; but they shall have no straw." They must work; but they shall not be taught how to work.

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In these days of the systematic differentiation of labor the

anomalous position of women is more obvious than formerly. The incongruity between the vocation that nature apparently intended for woman, and the position that man has assigned her, and the work that she is practically called on to do, is more than ever conspicuous. Every man of average wealth and intelligence—except the very wealthy—the true idle class, which is numerically small—looks forward to a life of work of some kind as his normal future. He is the natural "bread winner" and, whatever may be his tastes, principles or inclinations, the necessity of work stares him in the face; he anticipates it from childhood, and prepares himself accordingly. In a primitive civilization, the natural future of woman is the profession of wife and mother, the full duties of which are certainly quite sufficient to tax to the uttermost any amount of physical or mental capacity which a woman may happen to possess. But the standard has changed with altered circumstances, not for the best, not permanently, perhaps, but still changed. The duties of domestic life and maternity are still the monopoly of woman, but it is no longer her only sphere. As the difficulties and complications of living have increased, the normal family with the bread-winner as its head is no longer universal, and consequently there are numbers of women who do not engage in their natural occupation, and who must depend upon their own exertions for their support.

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It is unfortunate that in this age, in which the division of labor has been carried to its high perfection, that the sphere of woman's work has not yet been sufficiently considered. We have not yet wives and mothers who are specially trained with a view to filling these difficult offices, or who are practically adapted to the duties of domestic life. Now, although every woman does not marry, every woman may, and there is a very general impression that it is hardly worth while to bring up a girl with any definite occupation or purpose in life, or to prepare her for any special department of work, when she may at twenty adopt a profession which, alas, is supposed to require no particular preparation beyond a certain amount of good will, where her previous training would be only so much time and money thrown away, as all her energies will now be concentrated in either saving or spending her husband's income.

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But, while every woman may marry, a great many do not, and these are the women who suffer from having had no particular direction given to their education. Everyone who has had personal superintendence of any of the industries in which women may take part, art work of all kinds, high and humble, journalism, clerk work, etc., has had melancholy experience of the numerous, dreary, helpless applicants who constantly ask for work, and expect to be employed, absolutely without preparation, supposing that they can acquire in a few days or weeks the skill or routine that are the result of years of patient persevering labor. They too often feel hurt and offended if it is suggested to them that they should begin at the foot of the ladder; they consider their necessities and their willingness to work as sufficient recommendation, and cannot always be made to understand that it is steady, consecutive application that constitutes skilled labor, and that it is only skilled labor that can command money in an often over-stocked market.

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One who has had experience of the admirable manner in which women can perform work of this kind, when they have subjected themselves to the same preparatory training that men think necessary, will not deny their capacity for such work, and for the best of its kind. It is the want of concentration of purpose and settled resolution from childhood that is so fatal to woman in competing with men in the numerous departments of modern labor which they share.

The very motives that act as an incentive to a man in choosing a profession and preparing himself for it, discourage a woman from devoting her life and energies to such a pursuit. The ordinary man goes to work because only by work will he be enabled to marry and undertake the cares of a family, and enjoy the pleasures of domestic life. If a woman throw herself with energy into the same kind of work that requires some years of preliminary training, with a prospect of modest success, more or less remote—if she feel any interest in her work, and steady desire for progress—or if she have a grain of ambition to attain excellence—she seems to be renouncing the prospect of domestic life, and those cares and occupations that are the natural lot of women and to which most women aspire.

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pure wool filling on light cotton warp;
size, 72x84 inches; weight, 5½ pounds.
\$4.50 a pair—The "Wynwood;" wool
filling on light cotton warp; pink and blue
borders; size, 72x84 inches; weight, 5 lbs.
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this holds in all classes of society. Men are less restricted in
their choice. A man may pursue both business and pleasure,
may have a profession and social enjoyments, virtue and vice, if
he be so inclined, wide experiences, and family life, liberty
and paternity. But a woman who sets her heart upon any one
of these things, must almost of necessity renounce the rest, and
must be content with either the business or the pleasure, the
virtue or the vice, the freedom or the maternity.

If all parents would bring up their daughters as well as
their sons to some definite occupation, and have them thoroughly
instructed in that, woman would be happier and less helpless.
There would be less husband-hunting, and their whole faculties
would not be concentrated on petty economies or the effort to
appear to live better than the family resources admit of. And it
is very certain that no woman would make a worse wife or
mother for having gone through such mental discipline. The
vacancy of women's minds, of which we hear so much, their love
of gossip and interest in insignificant trifles, is nothing inherent
in their primitive structure; it is simply a natural result of the
circumstances of their lives, of their attention being concentrated
on the smallest details of living, and their minds being totally
undisciplined by the thorough mastery and intelligent exercise of
any regular occupation. To sum up, the education of the vast
proportion of women is sadly without definite direction, and is
too often limited to the cheap showy accomplishments, and
includes little that can be practically useful in domestic life, or
can serve as a preparation for any occupation in which a girl can
earn a living. It is this that puts woman at a disheartening
disadvantage when she seeks, perforce, pursuits wherein she is
thrown into competition with man. It is this that keeps her
from entering into such competition on a plane of equality, it is
this that unfits her to withstand the unsympathetic crowding
and jostling of competition, it is this—the matter of education—
that is of infinitely more real importance in the question of the
emancipation of woman than the power of voting or the granting
of any such political privileges.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

KLONDIKE NUGGETS, and How Two Boys Secured Them. By E. S.
Ellis. Pp. 255; illustrated. New York: Doubleday & McClure
Co. \$1.

THE LADY OF CASTELL MARCH. By Owen Rhoscomyl. Pp. 338. New
York: Doubleday & McClure Co. \$1.

MILITARY EUROPE. A Narrative of Personal Observation and Expe-
rience. By Maj. Gen. Nelson A. Miles. Pp. 112; illustrated. New
York: Doubleday & McClure Co. \$1.50.

NATURAL TAXATION. By Thomas G. Shearman. Pp. 268. New York:
Doubleday & McClure Co. \$1.

THE PEOPLE OF OUR NEIGHBORHOOD. By Mary E. Wilkins. New
York: Doubleday & McClure Co.; Philadelphia: Curtis Publishing
Co. 50c.

SONGS OF ACTION. By A. Conan Doyle. Pp. 144. New York: Double-
day & McClure Co. \$1.25.

PINOCCHIO'S ADVENTURES IN WONDERLAND. Translated from the
Italian by Hezekiah Butterworth. Pp. 212; illustrated. Boston:
Jordan, Marsh & Co. 30c.

PATRIOTIC AND NAVAL SONGSTER. Pp. 250. Philadelphia: Charles
H. Walsh. 25c.

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CHARLESTON, W. Va., Mar. 9, 1898.
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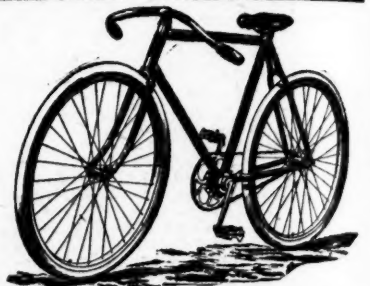
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